4:Huntingford E-S (1930-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

father (if he lives nearby), to his brothers, and lastly, if there is any over, to his clansmen in the settlement; so that a man who gets a pound or so of Nandi tobacco does not keep much of it for himself.

Drink, mainly in the form of honey-wine, is prepared not so much for private consumption as for social gatherings. It is used in various magico-religious performances, and as part of the bride-payment. When a man is visited by a friend or two, he gives them honey-wine; when there is a clan council, honey-wine is drunk; and when men and women meet for a wedding or a naming they drink honey-wine. It is thus an indispensable part of Dorobo social life. When a man wants to relax, he lies down and goes to sleep; but his amusement is composed of social gatherings. Visiting, communicle, and clan councils in fact provide him with his entertainment, and conversation and gossip seem to take the place of games and dances. I saw no sign whatever of the game called *kewisk* by the Nandi, which is played with seeds or pebbles in holes in the ground or in a board, and never heard it mentioned. I neither saw nor heard of a dance, and I never once heard a Dorobo of either sex singing.

The principal standard of wealth is really a man's skill as trapper, hunter, and bee-keeper. But the products of this skill are perishable, and formerly the only way in which tangible wealth could be accumulated was in the form of weapons, honey-barrels, and dogs. Now that the old hunting conditions have gone, it is becoming possible for a man to accumulate wealth to a very limited extent in cattle or goats, which he can get by purchase, [illegible] familiar, and a certain number of Dorobo earn wages; but except for one or two who have joined the Police, wages are not high, and the average in 1939 was 7 to 10 shillings a month. So far the Dorobo have had little inducement to work for wages, except that by signing on as squatters for a small wage they can acquire a temporary right to live on what was their own land. Beyond the fact that money enables them to buy a little extra food, our idea of wealth means little or nothing to them, and they have not yet advanced far enough into the transitional stage for it to be anything more than a small supplement to their traditional way of living. It is all that they can do to maintain themselves, let alone accumulate reserves or surplus wealth.

The transitional stage which the Dorobo had reached by 1939 is that from hunting to agriculture, with at the same time a strong desire to acquire cattle. It is sometimes suggested that hunting peoples like the Dorobo are really agriculturalists or pastoralists who have had to give up their agricultural or pastoral way of life and take to hunting. This may be true of some, such as the 'false Dorobo' in parts of Kenya who are mostly outlaws and fugitives from various tribes. But it is quite clearly not true of the real Dorobo *, like those who form the subject of this paper, who are unmistakably non-pastoral and non-agricultural. Their basic hunting tendency is shown by their character and behaviour, by their hunting techniques and skill, by

* Cf. my remarks in [illegible] op. cit. p. 278.

/316 cont./

411 322 [823] [297] with fat several times. It is bent over the fire. The string is plaited together, turning and braidlike, out of short animal tendons and is extended by further interweaving up to the required length. The projecting starting-ends of the individual pieces of tendon are neatly cut off, whereupon one then rubs the now finished bowstring with some fat.

The arrow shaft (Fig. 84) is carved out of a dry wooden stick, first rounded, then smoothed by scraping. The upper end is wound [297] [124] [412] with tendons that have been coated with the varnishlike juice of a not yet described species of gladiolus known as dirit8, whereupon, on top, one drills in the one- /316/ /Figs. 83 and 84 appear here/ 411 centimeter-long hole for the tang of the arrow by a twirling motion [239] with a thin wooden chisel. At the lower end the three-part feather- [136] ing -- out of the feathers of the carrion vulture (Neophron percnopterus) -- is flat fastened on by being wrapped with a very fine [283] [824] bast thread and then glued fast with the gladiolus juice just mentioned. Another wrapping of animal tendons is found between the feathering and the rear notch for the bowstring, in order to prevent a splitting of the shaft.

[825] [322] [171] [439] The people buy the iron points only if a point breaks off /321/ do they as a rule forge a new one for themselves. Clubs are carved from a piece of wood, as among the Masai. They buy the spears, of which there are one or more in almost every camp, from the blacksmiths of the Masai. The spears serve as weapons only in the camp, where shooting with arrows is not permitted, on account of the danger connected with that, since they are always poisoned.

415 [439] [285] The Asa for the most part buy wooden bowls and gourd bottles from sedentary tribes. On the other hand, in some places they plait shallow baskets, which they use for storing food.

[324] [439] [171] The fact that the Wandorobo do not play the board game so popular among the Masai was explained to me by them with the words "During the game we would forget to hunt and then, with our families, would have to starve."

512 [517] With the coming of darkness complete stillness as a rule comes over the camps, quiet even during the day; the day's work is done and everyone goes to his hut. Only on moonlit evenings do the old [273] [516] people often still sit in the open for a few hours, talking, with a gourd bottle of honey beer, while the young men and girls dance [583] and let their falsetto song ring out through the still night, from

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 313]

512 /237 cont./
512 which now and then, as though as an answer, the cry of a predatory
[223] animal resounds over to them. The dance differs from that of the
[535] Masai through the fact that the men do not lift their feet, but only
[533] raise their heels. The narrow, twisted plaza of the camp permits
535 only dancing on the spot. Just as there, here too it is accompanied
121 each time by song.
[32 1]
533 In a falsetto (1)

[126] 1. Recorded by Herr Stabsarzt /Staff physician/ Dr. Skrodzki.

the tone, just barely reachable, roughly the A above middle C (sometimes stricken), is strongly accented and shrilly sung out. In an extremely irregular beat the succession of tones now descends in the six-four / $\frac{6}{4}$ / chord of A. At the A below middle C the chest tone sets in, but relatively softer then the falsetto, until, descending in the same degrees of the scale, the second A below middle C is reached. The final tones are more certain, because they lie better for the singer; the falsetto usually hovers around the tone sought, in part uncertainly, in part playfully.

Appoggiaturas, triplets are repeated all the more frequently the more certain the artist gradually feels in adhering to the melody -- sit venia verbi /so to speak/. No other figures are observed. Finally the voice once more glides within the seventh chord up and down the last octave; or the fundamental tone is phrased in contrapuntal fashion at the end. The entire song is an irregular variation of a six-four / $\frac{6}{4}$ / chord. It is limited almost entirely to two octaves. Through the greater probability of being hit properly the fundamental tones of the chord form the natural rest points for the voice and may sometimes be interpreted as strong parts of the measure. In marching they coincide with the putting down of one foot. Nevertheless there is not any sort of time that can be observed. The delivery is often parlando, and the tempo also corresponds to this style. The fact that the /226/ text is arranged ad libitum /at will/ for each use heightens the interest, if not the musical enjoyment, of the listeners.

/238 cont./

539 533 An overheard text is: "If I were a bird that is sitting beside the river and a zebra came to drink, I would, in the little bird's place, kiss (or bite) it, because I love it very much. But I am big and therefore can not."

512 Around ten o'clock at the latest the merriment reaches its end, and the camp is finally wrapped in silence.

825 The statement of the Wandorobo, according to which it is still supposed to have never happened that human beings have been killed by predatory animals within the camp seems remarkable. They [189] therefore do not fear them at all and believe themselves safe from them because of their magic medicines, some of which, according to popular belief, keep the wild animals far away, while others have the effect of the cap of invisibility.

III.

601 Kinship designations and terms of address.

The kinship designations are the following:
Father: aba or baba.
Mother: ɛ̈jo or ea.
My wife: mai totuan.
My brother: bidjog uan.
My sister: bidjot uan.
Half brother: weku baba.
Half sister: wetu baba.
Brother of the father: bidjog e baba.
Sister of the father: bidjot baba.
Brother of the mother: bidjog ea.
Sister of the mother: bidjot ea.
Son of the father's brother: weku bidjog baba.
Son of the father's sister: weku bidjot baba.
Daughter of the father's brother: wetu bidjog baba.
Daughter of the father's sister: wetu bidjot baba.
Son of the mother's brother: weku agogeach.
Son of the mother's sister: weku bidjot ea.